wrapped body is lowered by straps. Then two men descend and arrange the body in the niche in such a way that the pit is on its right and the head is turned towards the west. The body, the burial of which I witnessed, was placed stretched out on its back. A squatting position is said to have been originally customary. (68)

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau, 1872.

The niche is closed by thick brushwood, which covers the entire floor of the grave. There is a layer of stones on top of the brushwood. [317] The grave is then completely filled with earth or sand and a hill formed. Stones which are piled up in several layers above the ground complete it. A large stone, vertically set, rising half an arm's length above ground or sometimes a gemsbok horn mark the head end of the grave. This method of burial offers the best protection for the corpse from hyenas and probably can be explained from this point of view.

All the relatives and friends, even down to the smallest children who normally do no work, help to fill the grave. As we placed flowers, they strew aromatic buchu powder on the mound.

Whoever returns to a grave after a long absence places a stone, a piece of wood or a branch there. The same thing is done by people who come to a place and find a friend no longer alive, as a symbol that he too helped to bury him.

Whoever dies quietly, continues to live as mildly in the dreams of the survivors. Whoever dies violently or deliriously, appears during the night to the survivors as a horrible ghost. But the question whether every departed one continues to live in some form or other as a shade I have never found considered. Their phantasy ends in the story of the hare, whose cowardice defrauded men of the immortality which the moon had promised them (cf. folk tale XXX).

Rain, storm or heavy clouds that appear about a week after death are sometimes thought to be a sign that the gall is flowing out of the decaying body. Also such things as rainbow, sun, moon, cold, heat, and thunderstorm, are thought to be a visitation of the dead. The Hottentots once believed a large cirrus cloud to be a visitation of a dead white man.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the //naos, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti //Naoxa /Hawa
N'oaba Hui ku a ra
aba mama

My ancestors' territory
Pass kindly to meet me
I am your flesh.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The [illegible] the dangers of, namely, the hostile /Hai /Nau [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Hottentots", 119-20.

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775 769 to encroachment upon the territory of another. There is unfortunately no other record of such usages to be observed when visiting a strange place, or linking up the occupation of land with supernatural agencies. Whether similar usages did exist among the Cape Hottentots, but have escaped observation, or whether in the case of the Naman, and especially of the Orlams, European ideas had completely overshadowed them in practice, cannot now be determined. Certainly the great freedom with which the Hottentots appear to have wandered from place to place, from their own territory into that of another tribe, does not argue in favour of any pronounced dread of the ghosts haunting such places, nor does the undoubted fact that disputes over the possession of land were frequent.

423 425 All the land claimed by a tribe was the common property of that tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it the property of the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs. It is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the natives themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase money" as analogous to tribute paid for this use. Even in more recent times, when the concepts of sale and purchase had become generally familiar to the Hottentots, the alienation of land to other tribes or peoples was extremely rare. The chief had no right to dispose of the land or of any portion of it without first obtaining the consent of the families under his rule, and the purchase money had to be divided equally amongst them.[1]

423 Every member of the tribe had a right as such to the use of its land, water, and grazing for himself, his family, and his stock. He could move freely over the tribal lands, and erect his hut wherever he pleased, without restriction or interference by the chief or anybody else. These rights, however, were merely those of usufruct, and in no case implied full ownership to the exclusion of others.[2] The only instance recorded of recognized private ownership of land or its resources occurs even to-day in the Nara bushveld of the Kuiseb regions behind Walvis Bay. Here each Topnaar family has an hereditary claim to certain */nara* bushes and their fruit. Trespass by other members of the tribe is reported to the chief and dealt with by him; but if the

[1] Wuthow, "Ueber das Recht der Namas," 671, 684; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 75-6; Vedder, "The Nama," 144; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 350.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76; Schinz, *Namaland and Kalahari*, 193.

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773 761 [265] Hottentots, "because he brought such a bad message, and therefore we dislike to eat his flesh."[1]

Death itself is attributed in many cases to the influence of the evil being *//Gaunab*, "whose greatest aim is to harm people and to destroy 761 them," or to the */hei /nun*, ghosts of the dead, who chase living people ● 775 or come to them in dreams and try to drag them off to the grave. 754 The */gei aogu* or magicians can also use their power for evil, and thus cause people to sicken and die.[2] The malice of ghosts or evil magicians seems in fact to be by far the most common cause of death in Hottentot eyes. Mrs. Hoernlé even says definitely that "the Naman considered that all sickness was caused either by *//Gaunab*, or the */Hei /Nun*, or by persons somehow in contact with them, the witchcraft 761 practitioners."[3] Sometimes, however, death will also follow auto- 784 matically on the violation of certain ritual observances or avoidances, and in such cases is apparently not linked up in any way with supernatural beings or their human agents. Cold water, for example, must be carefully avoided by a menstruating woman or anybody else in the condition of */nun*. Commenting upon this regulation, Mrs. Hoernlé says: "I have had many instances which were given to me of people who actually have died because they were obliged to touch water when they should not have done so, and their absolute belief in the danger is quite sufficient to cause death in many instances."[4]

761 It is obvious from these beliefs that the Hottentots are far from considering natural causes alone to be sufficient explanation for death. At the same time one gets the impression from the literature generally that such causes are not entirely disregarded, as for example, in the case of wounds, burns, falls, starvation, etc., which are known to cause death or disablement in a natural way. But no attempt appears to have been made to investigate in any detail how far and in what circumstances purely natural causes in themselves may be admitted as sufficient explanation for death.

[784] Dead people are as a rule disposed of by burial. The only other 766 mode of disposal is exposure, which takes place only in a few special cases. Among the Cape Hottentots, for example, one of twins

[1] Native texts of the myth are published in Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 170–1 and Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 448–51; translated versions in Wilser, "Beiträge aus dem Piesenberg," 118–19; Bleek, *Report on the Bushmen in S. Africa*, 69–73; Kleinschmidt, in Moritz, "Die Hottentotten-Kolonisation über D.S.W.A." 1915, p. 253.

[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 63–4; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 177–82 *passim*.

[3] Op. cit., 180–1; cf. Hahn, op. cit., 63.

[4] "Social Value of Water," 177.

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765 763 [304] If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the widower is much the same, save for a few additional details. After he has been cleansed, two cuts are made on his forehead, and the juice of a certain astringent plant, *//ubus*, is rubbed in. The hair is also cut from the back of his head. In the old days the cutting in both cases was done with a sharp piece of quartz. Before he has been finally cleansed in this way the widower must not leave the hut. After the hut has also been cleaned by the removal of the fire, etc., some tamarisk and acacia branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water, just as in the re-marriage ceremonies. With this act the immediate mourning rites come to an end. There is no mention of any subsequent rites, or of any further mourning ceremonies.

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

● 778 The Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead have not been investigated in sufficient detail; and concrete information on the subject is contained only in a few fragmentary, but nevertheless important, observations. These leave untouched many problems which arise, and the following description cannot, therefore, be regarded as fully adequate. But it seems safe to say, in the light of the available information, that the Hottentots have no definite conception of an after-world or special land of the dead, nor is there any established theory of reincarnation. Olpp in a short sentence expresses concisely what appears to be the general Hottentot doctrine: "They believe that the soul of a dead person goes with him into the grave, fromwhich it has the faculty of emerging at will as a ghost, in either luminous or terrifying form."[1]

775 192 This statement can be amplified somewhat. The ghosts of the dead are known to the Naman by several names—most commonly as */hai ǂan*, "fawn feet"; sometimes as */hai khoin*, "fawn-coloured people" [illegible] "people in the shadow"; and also as *//gaunagu*.[2] This last term is of special importance. It is the masculine plural form of *//Gaunab*, and *//Gaunab* is one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot religion and myth, just as he is in the religion of the Northern Bushmen. The term *//gaunab* itself may be used in the singular for "ghost", as appears from a saying noted by

[1] *Nagor Pioneers*, 29.
[2] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 83, 143; Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 502, 509.

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Hahn: *//naũa //gauna te ni*, I will hear it, if I am a *//gauna*." "This means," says Hahn, "if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand."[1] There is no doubt, moreover, that the mythical being *//Gaunab* also is intimately linked up with the ghosts of the dead. One of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants, in fact, insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. "The names are two," he said, "but the thing is one."[2] This close connection between *//Gaunab* and the ghosts of the dead is a point to which we shall have to recur.

The question now arises whether all dead people become ghosts of the same sort, or whether some distinction is made in their fate according to their circumstances in life—sex, age, social status, manner of death, etc. On this point there is very little concrete information. Schultze states that people who die tranquilly also live mildly in the dreams of the survivors, whereas a man dying in great agony or raving madly appears to the living at night as a terrible phantom.[3] This implies a distinction similar to that found among some of the North-Western Bushmen between "good deaths" and "bad deaths", and suggests that only the ghosts of the latter are to be dreaded. There is, however, no other mention of this particular distinction, and, as we shall see, it appears that all ghosts are dreaded as a rule. Hahn, again, states that some people are said to die from the influence of *//Gaunab*, and these are called *//Gauna //ōra khoin*, "people who died the *//Gauna* death." "Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by vultures and hyenas, they are also considered *//gauna //ōra*."[4] He does not say, however, if the ghosts of such people are regarded as in any way different from those of people who die ordinary deaths and are buried, nor is there anything to indicate that they are more dreaded.

The ghosts are thought to hover over the graves or to come from them; in general, that is, they linger round the locality where the death has taken place. This point was made long ago by Kolb in discussing the Cape Hottentot beliefs concerning the dead. The people fear, he says, that the dead may return and molest them. For this reason, when anybody has died, they all remove from the locality, believing that the dead person only haunts the place where he has died. Only if anything is taken from the hut of the dead person will his ghost follow them and trouble them.[5] The Naman, as we have

[1] Op. cit., 83.
[2] Op. cit., 83-4.
[3] Op. cit., 322.
[4] *Namaland and Kalahari*, 327.
[5] Op. cit., 60-3; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 338.

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775 seen, do not now move the kraal or even the hut of the dead person after a death has taken place among them; but we have already noted an illustration that the same belief exists among them, in the rites to be performed when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt the place, and one must protect oneself against them and propitiate them if one is to escape. So, too, when a man goes visiting relatives elsewhere he must be specially protected from the ghosts of that locality.[1] Vedder describes the same belief in somewhat different form when he says: "He who treads on a grave, passes on unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger, has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge."[2]

These remarks show that the attitude of the living towards the ghost is on the whole one of dread. Nowadays, says Mrs. Hoernlé, there are great differences among the people with regard to the dread of the */hei /nun*, some people not fearing to go even to the grave, whereas others would on no account go near one, especially after sunset. "If one asks a Nama why he is afraid of the grave, he answers it is because of the thing that is there, the skeleton, which he says is a fearsome thing. No Nama will touch a dead man's bones, if he can help it, and on the Orange River, when I found a skeleton on the sand dunes and picked it up, my native guide told me the */hei /nun* would surely follow us, did they not know I was not afraid of them."[3]

[761 753] Underlying this dread is the belief that the */hei /nun*, the ghosts, cause most of the sickness and death, either in themselves, or through the *ǂgei aogu*, the magicians.[4] Often, when a man has died, he [787] appears to a member of his family in sleep. When the sleeper wakes, he will say, *//gán oxi, /uri /kóp /gúiba ta go mu*, "no flesh, a white bone alone I saw." The old people then say that the person who has died has come to fetch another of them—one of the family will die. Again, whose people are alone the */hei /nun* come chasing them, "and I have had many an instance given me," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of persons arriving home utterly worn out and exhausted after such a chase, who almost always died shortly afterwards. In Windhoek among the Zwartboys I found the */hei /nun* were very much dreaded, and I was told of very many cases where they had appeared to the people during the influenza epidemic, when they had tried to drag

[1] V. above, p. 289. [2] "The Nama," 133.
[3] Op. cit., 318. A similar instance indicating great fear of skeletons is recorded by Lichtenstein, *Reisen im Südlichen Afrika*, ii, 35–6.
[4] Hoernlé, loc. cit.; Hahn, op. cit., 87.

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their victims off to the grave, that is, to kill them."[1] And Hahn likewise states that the ghosts are believed to leave their graves on dark nights and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. "This kind of spectres go by the special name of */hausan*. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death."[2]

Biden and Kling record the same belief in a somewhat different form as it occurs among the disorganized Hottentots of Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, which at the same time has certain additional points of interest.[3] For a few weeks after the death the male relatives of the deceased go to the grave every morning before sunrise, quite naked, and pray to the *thas* (ghost). The idea of visiting the grave in a nude state is that the ghost cannot catch them! They talk to the grave and sprinkle *buchu* leaves on it, and beseech the ghost to do them no harm and to leave them undisturbed at night time. After a month or so they suppose that the ghost has left the grave, and has entered an animal called by them "*thas* jackals".[4] They say that this animal—"the house of the ghosts of the deceased people"—leaves its shelter at night time only, and glides along the ground like a shadow; no one has ever actually seen it, but it is described as having a very large head. They believe it to be very strong and immortal, and no attempt has ever been made to kill it. It has never been caught, and another belief, distinctly traceable to contact with the early Dutch colonists, says that it can only be killed with a silver bullet. When the animal at night makes a noise, "tha . . . tha . . . tha . . .", the people cover themselves with their karosses; and if they happen to be at their evening meal when this noise is heard, each throws some food backwards in order to satisfy the animal, so that no harm may come to them. The cry of this "*thas* jackals" is said to be much louder than that of any other nocturnal animals.

It may be noted in connection with this belief that, according to Opp, the Naman of South-West Africa maintain that a certain little animal, called */kas*, stands in close rapport with certain people. As soon as these people quarrel with anybody, it comes along unseen, and throws dust against the enemy, at the same time crying shrilly *kä-kä-kä*.[5] This is obviously the animal referred to by Biden and

[1] Loc. cit. [2] Op. cit., 81. [3] Op. cit., 224–5.
[4] The word "jackals" (jakhals) is, of course, taken over from the Dutch. [5] Op. cit., 32.

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Kling. Olpp unfortunately does not state who the "certain people" are, who are befriended in this way. The Naman, however, believe that the *!gei aogu*, magicians, are somehow in contact with the */hei /nun*, although we are nowhere told how this contact is established. If, therefore, the belief that the */hei /nun* may take the form of the */has jackals* is accurately reported by Biden and Kling, one would suppose that the people referred to by Olpp must be the magicians. But this is only conjecture.

Some light is thrown upon this medley of beliefs, as well as upon the other manifestations of the ghosts, by certain facts which Schultze records about *//Gaunab*.[1] To him *//Gaunab* is merely a mythical being ("Fabelwesen"), and he does not connect the name either with the personage figuring so prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naman, or with the ghosts of the dead. *//Gaunab*, he says, has the faculty of assuming human and animal form at will. The Naman conceive of him as having human shape, with ribs drawn over the flesh, and with feet the length of arms. "As quickly as a flame shoots up out of the glowing embers and then sinks down," said one of his informants, so quickly does *//Gaunab* come at night into a hut and steal a child. He hastens with his captive to a hole which he has dug in the loose soil, and rides on the child until it is stifled in the dust. By day he can also take on the form of a klipbok, jackal, or any other animal, which does not flee from men, since it is invulnerable; but in human shape he appears only in the distance, as in spite of all disguise he can be recognized by his facial features.

It is evident, from what has already been said, that these facts must be interpreted as referring to the ghosts. The word *//gaunab* itself is used for a ghost; the human shape which this "mythical being" is said to possess may be compared with the form in which ghosts appear to people in dreams; the abduction and stifling of a child in a hole is equivalent to saying that the ghosts drag their victims off to the grave; and the invulnerability of *//Gaunab* in animal form is paralleled by the beliefs relating to the */has jackals*. The latter, if this identification is accepted, must therefore be regarded not as a form in which all ghosts become reincarnated, but rather as one of the forms they may assume at will. There is no ground for supposing that the Hottentots have a definite doctrine of reincarnation or transmigration of the soul such as is implied in the account given by Biden and Kling.

[1] Op. cit., 452-6.

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To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures are employed. Some of these we have already noted. When visiting an old locality of the tribe, one takes wet clay from the waterhole and puts it on the body, at the same time saying a spell; when visiting a strange kraal, again, one is smeared on the forehead with wet clay and potblack. In both cases one comes in contact with the waters of the locality, and so, to use Mrs. Hoernlé's words, "is identified with the place and its spirits."[1] Again, at the burial of a dead person, cold water is poured on the grave, "to cool the soul of the deceased," and to keep him from troubling; or *buchu* leaves are sprinkled over the grave, and the ghost is asked not to disturb the people. Vedder states also that the stones heaped upon the grave are intended not only to protect the corpse from being damaged by wild animals, but actually also, in order to prohibit it from rising up again.[2] This second explanation, however, is not corroborated by other writers. Afterwards, on returning to the kraal, cold water is sprinkled on the place where the body was lying before it was taken to be buried; this prevents the sickness that was there from spreading. All the inmates of the kraal, moreover, with the exception of the near relatives, wash their hands in cold water; they would get sick if they did not do so. The relatives, however, especially the near relatives, are in much greater danger than other people: the dead member of their family will appear to them in their sleep and cause them to sicken and die. Hence they must go through the much longer process of purification—sweating, putting on of potblack on the stomach, and eating of a ceremonial meal—already described in connection with the funeral rites.

Again, when a whirlwind, a *Sarás*, comes swirling through a kraal and passes by a hut, the inmates rush inside, get cold water, and throw it in the path of the wind. If they did not take this precaution someone would surely die. Now the other name for *Sarás*, the whirlwind, is *//Gaunab*, and this tells us why the wind is a thing of ill omen. It is a form which the */hai /nun* or *//Gaunab* can take, "it hides in its mass departed spirits which forbode ill for the living," and therefore it brings sickness and perhaps death to the inhabitants of the kraal unless precautions are taken—and these precautions consist chiefly in scattering cold water in its path.[3]

In connection with this association between the ghosts and the whirlwind may be mentioned another belief, recorded by Schultze,

[1] Op. cit., 519-20. [2] "The Nama," 135. [3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 518-19.

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821 775 that any change in weather, from calm to storm, from cold to heat, etc., is regarded as sent by the dead. He quotes the case where certain big cirrus clouds which appeared were held to have been sent by a white man who had recently died. He further states that rain, storm, or thick clouds, appearing about a week after a death has taken place, are here and there regarded as a sign that the gall is fleeing from the putrefying body.[1]

769 782 775 There is some evidence also of worship offered to dead people. The clearest indication of this is seen in a conversation between Hahn and a Nama woman well-known to him. He met her travelling on the outskirts of the Kalahari, and thereupon asked her what she was doing so far away from her home. She replied that her family was in great distress, and therefore she was going to "pray and weep" at the grave of her father, who had died in the hunting fields, and he would give luck to her husband in hunting. "'But your father is dead,' I said, 'how will he help you?' 'Yes, he is dead,' she answered, 'but he only sleeps! We Khoikhoi always, if we are in trouble, go and pray at the graves of our grandparents and ancestors; it is an old custom of ours.'"[2]

775 This statement, it will be noticed, implies that dead people are not wholly dreaded as ghosts which cause sickness and death; they can also be invoked to help their descendants. There is thus an ambivalent attitude towards them on the part of the living. No definite information, unfortunately, is available as to the relationship between the two aspects of this attitude. It is possible, perhaps, that a distinction is made between the spirit of the deceased on the one hand, and the ghost on the other, the latter being held to arise *not from the "soul"*, as suggested by Olpp, but from the corpse, since it is sometimes described as having the form of something like a skeleton. And in this connection it may be noted that Hahn quotes [521] certain sayings, that "the Stars are the eyes of the deceased", and also that "the Stars are the souls of the deceased", which he regards as indications of belief in a future life. As additional argument he adduces a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the star of my grandfather!"[3] These beliefs are not mentioned by any other writer on the Hottentots, although something similar to them is found among the Bushmen, but Hahn is on the whole a reliable authority. The sayings he records may

[1] Op. cit., 327.
[2] Op. cit., 83, 109.
[3] Op. cit., 112–13.

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be taken to hint that the dead do not merely become ghosts. The spirit or rather soul of the dead person might then be looked upon as capable of doing good, while the ghost arising from his body is something to be dreaded. But this again is pure conjecture, justified only by the absence of adequate data. As already indicated, the Hottentot beliefs concerning the fate of the dead stand in need of much fuller investigation.

Hahn gives no further information about the nature, occasions, and extent of the worship of the dead. It will be noticed, however, from the conversation recorded by him, that the prayers have to be offered at the graves of the dead. This fact can be linked up with other usages of the Hottentots. Olpp states that when a man passes the grave of an "ancestor", he will place one hand on the nape of his neck, throw a stone or twig on the mound, and offer a prayer for health, many children, and much stock.[1] We have already come across the placing of stones or twigs on the grave as part of the actual burial ceremony; but it has been observed by many writers, from Müller in 1655 right up to the present, that this act is also performed by Hottentots whenever they happen to be passing one of the stone heaps marking a grave.[2] Olpp, as just shown, says that it is accompanied by prayer. This is not mentioned by some other writers. To take an early account first, Thunberg, who travelled in the eastern districts of the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century, writes as follows: "By the side of the road I observed a stone heap covered with branches and shrubs, on which each of our Hottentots, as passing by, threw some branches. Asking them for their reason in doing so, they answered that a Hottentot was buried there."[3] And Biden and Kling, writing in 1912, state that: "A peculiarity of the Hottentots in doing homage to their dead is what they call 'heidje eibib'. In the event of a grave being close to a road where the Hottentots continually pass to and fro, the wayfarers throw a stone on the mound when passing by. This is a sign of honour to the deceased, and this duty is strictly observed where there are graves of ancestors of the Hottentots. There is a large 'heidje eibib' at Scygerkraal, near O'okiep [Little Namaqualand]; the Hottentots say that this grave is that of one of their great-grandfathers who originally came from another country."[4]

[1] Op. cit., 29.
[2] Müller, in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, I, 19; Grevenbroek, op. cit., 371; Hahn, op. cit., 46–8 (quoting Spurrman and Lichtenstein).
[3] Quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 45. [4] Op. cit., 225.

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776 says that the Nama believe that "war and all evil come from the devil, *kounnaap* (*//Gaunab*); he is black, say the magicians, who assert that they sometimes see him. Because he is evil, sacrifices and offerings must be made to him".[1]

It will be noticed that according to both Kolb and Wikar *//Gaunab* is the source of all evil; he is appeased by sacrificial offerings, and he stands in close contact with the magicians. These statements are supported by later writers. Hahn says that the Topnaars of Walvis Bay, one of the Nama tribes, offer prayers to *//Gaunab*, so as not to provoke his anger, although they call him an evildoer, who [753] even kills them when they are out hunting.[2] All sicknesses are expected to come from *//Gaunab*, or from his servants, the witch-craft practitioners.[3] One informant said that the Rainbow was made 776 by *//Gaunab*: it is a fire which he has kindled. *//Gaunab* deceives 821 the people, and leads them into that fire, and there they die. Such people are spoken of as *//Gauna- //o-khoin*, *//Gauna*-dying people. The eclipse of the moon, comets, and the Aurora australis, all evil omens, are also connected with *//Gaunab*, who through them threatens war and death.[4] Among the Korana mothers used to tell their children to beware of *//Gaunab*, as he is a great evildoer, who can kill them.[5]

//Gaunab is also another name, as we have seen, for *Saris*, the whirlwind, which threatens sickness and death. He is further 776 intimately connected with the */hei /nun*, the malicious ghosts of the 775 dead; in fact, *//gunagu* in the plural is simply another name for */hei /nun*, and even the term *//gaub* in the singular may be used for 791 a ghost. It may also be noted that magicians among the Namas are considered in some way connected with the */hei /nun*, and therefore have an immunity from their evil effects which others have not. These facts all suggest that *//Gaunab* must be identified with the */hei /nun*, the ghosts or spectres of the dead. This is also implied in Valentijn's statement noted above, and it will be remembered that one of Mrs. Hoernlé's informants insisted very earnestly that the */hei /nun* were simply *//Gaunab*. From this it would appear that *//Gaunab*, when looked upon as an individual being, as he certainly is at times, may be regarded as a personification of the ghosts of the dead, i.e. of certain animistic beliefs. On the evidence available there seems no other adequate interpretation.

[1] "Berigt aan van Plettenberg," 169. [2] Op. cit., 91, 94.
[3] Ibid., 87; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water among the Hottentots," 500.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 74, 89. [5] Ibid., 62.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushman F810

H 752 648

turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B H 771 171 821

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B H 771 171 769 775 [H?]

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hai /aua* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Hawe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

S H [901]

B H 771 171 775 769 821

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaua* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 1924; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 1915.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:— 769 782

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring.
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gaunab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gaunab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability. [171] 776

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb. 773

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various 773 778 [175]

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moon-light dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there. 782 535 178

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances. 771 [754]

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another. 775

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves communally, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again. 768 778

Heinib, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entrusted his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death. 763

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he 769 787 761

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Horsemor FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have had luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǂGaunagu (masc. plur.), ǂHaitsugu (masc. plur.), Sebekhoin (com. plur.), and ǂHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǂNoha ǂgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǂgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǂHaitsub ke ǂi, Fawufoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǂhauasa. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǂGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǂgau, ǂgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǂgauna ǂkha khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǂgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Homemade FX13

776 vultures and hyenas, they are also considered ǂgoasa
777 khîra. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
787 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
784 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǂgoasa ǂkra khoin.

936 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of
[788] their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǁGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witch-craft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

778 It is, therefore, not strange that ǁGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAoni-Xoms, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǁGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsitsigoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[778] is strange that the ǂKabo-Bushmen, the ǂAi-Bushmen, the ǂNumin, and especially among these the Hei‖gum (or wooden mouse), all know ǁGaunna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsitsigoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǁGaunna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between this and Khoikhoin. Tsitsigoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.

14:Hahn 1-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1581 FX13 Horsetor FX13

himself down, always moves to the side. This is certainly nothing else but the lightning, whose nature it is never to go in a straight line, but always to go out of the original course. We previously stated that the ǂGurikhoisib was also called ǂEixaǂkhaǂnabiseb, and we interpreted this name with Lightning. ǂGurikhoisib is a good Being, but ǂGamaǂgurib is a bad Being, and so is ǂGeinaan.

We need not be surprised at such idiosyncrasies in mythology, and especially in the so-called *lower mythology*. This is only a repetition of the maxim that the religious sentiment of mankind originally saw in Nature the working of demons; and that only after a higher state of culture the idea of a good Being is developed. After the evidence produced, we must admit that the Khoikhoi mythology, although it bears in many respects comparison with the myths of Greece and Eran, must be classified with the *lower mythologies*, for the simple reason that the Khoikhoi language has not yet left the agglutinative stage.

Ghosts and Spectres—ǂHaitsaan and Sore-khoin.

The ghosts and spectres are called ǂHaitsaan, fawn-feet, or Sore-khoin, men of the shadow. These words are of a very simple etymology. As to fawn-feet, ǂHaitsaib, we also say in German, *ein fahles Gespenst* or *fahl wie ein Gespenst*.

ǂHattsoiǁgaib, ǂAmab and ǂGaa.

ǂHattsoiǁgaib and ǂAmab are also mythological personæ, but their derivation is not quite clear to me. The name, ǂGaa, the hare, which certainly has nothing to do with ǂgâ, to mourn, as some interpreters explain it; rather it may be derived from ǂga, to oppose, to go against somebody, to meet.

ǂKhouanti, the Pleiades.

It is not very easy to explain the original meaning of